

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7436
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 06592

STADIS//////////

LONDON FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN AND EUR/CE
DIRECTOR ANDERSON

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR ONLY

PARIS AND BERLIN FOR CHARGES ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR PGOV WB GW US UK FR
SUBJECT: FOUR POWER SUMMIT: DRAFT TEXT OF BERLIN
DECLARATION

REFS: (A) BONN 6582 EXDIS: (B) STATE 86258;
(C) STATE 85699

1. IN TERMS OF BOTH FLOW AND CONTENT, I THINK THE
DRAFT DECLARATION IS EXCELLENT. I HAVE ONLY ONE
COMMENT ON SUBSTANCE AND A FEW SUGGESTIONS FOR
INDIVIDUAL DRAFTING CHANGES.

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2. ON SUBSTANCE, THE QUESTION IS BASICALLY ONE OF
TONE. THERE IS AN UPBEAT QUALITY TO THE DECLARATION
WHICH QUITE PROPERLY REFLECTS OUR GENERAL
SATISFACTION WITH THE IMPROVEMENTS BROUGHT ABOUT BY
THE QA. IN THE PROCESS, HOWEVER, WE MAY BE
DILUTING OUR MESSAGE TO THE SOVIETS, CONVEYED IN THE
JANUARY 11 ALLIED PROTEST AND IN OUR SUBSEQUENT HIGH-

LEVEL BILATERAL DEMARCHES, ABOUT THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH WE VIEW RECENT GDR ACTIONS AIMED AT SHOWING THAT THE "RELEVANT AREA" COVERED BY THE QA WAS NOT GREATER BERLIN BUT ONLY THE WESTERN SECTORS.

3. I REALIZE THAT THE TONE OF THE DECLARATION WILL IN LARGE PART BE DETERMINED BY THE MESSAGE WE WISH TO CONVEY, TO THE SOVIETS AND TO THE WORLD AT LARGE, ABOUT THE GENERAL STATE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, AND I HAVE NO SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS FOR TONAL CHANGE AT THE MOMENT. THE QUESTION WILL NO DOUBT REQUIRE FURTHER CONSIDERATION, HOWEVER, AFTER WE HAVE HAD FULLER OPPORTUNITY TO ASSESS THE IMPLICATIONS OF FRIDAY'S DEMARCHES ABOUT ALLIED MILITARY PATROLS IN EAST BERLIN (REFS A AND B). WHILE IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE SOVIETS ARE BUILDING TOWARD A CONFRONTATION OVER THE PATROLS, DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN NOW AND THE SUMMIT COULD MAKE IT NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN THE WARNINGS AGAINST INTERFERENCE WITH ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. (IN BRIEFING US ON THE CHERVONENKO DEMARCHE, BOISSIEU OF THE FRENCH EMBASSY, WHO HAD RECEIVED A COPY OF THE DRAFT DECLARATION FROM WASHINGTON, ALSO EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT IN THE LIGHT OF THAT DEMARCHE THERE SEEMED TO BE AN OVER-EMPHASIS IN THE DECLARATION ON RELAXATION OF TENSIONS.)

4. FOLLOWING ARE SOME SPECIFIC DRAFTING SUGGESTIONS:

-- PARA B, FIRST SENTENCE: IT WOULD BE
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PREFERABLE SIMPLY TO REFER TO "THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT," RATHER THAN "THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT ON BERLIN." WE HAVE SEVERAL TIMES RECENTLY CALLED THE SOVIETS TO TASK FOR REFERRING TO IT AS "THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT ON WEST BERLIN," AND IT SEEMS UNDESIRABLE FOR US TO ERR IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION.

-- PARA D, FIRST SENTENCE: IT WOULD BE CLOSER TO THE WORDING OF THE QA IF WE REFERRED HERE TO "RESPECT FOR," RATHER THAN "MAINTENANCE OF" FOUR-POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

-- PARA D, SECOND SENTENCE: WHILE THE POINT CERTAINLY NEEDS TO BE MADE ABOUT THE EASTERN SECTOR,

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THE WORDS "PARTICULARLY IN" MAKE IT APPEAR THAT WE
ARE LESS CONCERNED ABOUT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES
IN THE WESTERN SECTOR. IT IS JUST THAT THOSE ARE NOT
IN QUESTION AT THE MOMENT. ONE WAY TO MEET THIS POINT
WOULD BE TO REFER TO "GREATER BERLIN" IN THE FIRST
SENTENCE, SO THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD GET THE POINT
WITHOUT OUR HAVING TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS
OF THE CITY. THE FIRST THREE SENTENCES OF THE PARAGRAPH
COULD THUS BE MERGED INTO TWO SENTENCES TO READ AS
FOLLOWS:

"IN THIS CONNECTION, THE THREE POWERS CALLED
ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT RESPECT FOR FOUR-
POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR GREATER
BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE WAS AN ESSENTIAL
BASIS FOR THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT. THE THREE
POWERS REJECTED FIRMLY ANY EFFORTS TO QUESTION
THESE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AND STRESSED
THAT THE QUADRIpartite STATUS OF GREATER BERLIN
COULD BE MODIFIED ONLY WITH UNANIMOUS CONSENT OF
THE FOUR POWERS. ..."

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-- PARA D: REG HIBBERT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY OBJECT
TO THE REFERENCE TO THE QUADRIpartite STATUS OF GREATER

BERLIN. I THINK IT ESSENTIAL TO INCLUDE IT IN THIS CONTEXT AND HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO OVERCOME HIS OBJECTIONS. HIS SECOND THOUGHTS ON REFERENCES TO "QUADRIPARTITE STATUS" BEGAN IN LATE DECEMBER. NEVERTHELESS, YOU MIGHT FIND IT HELPFUL TO REMIND HIM THAT THE FOUR MINISTERS APPROVED THE OPTIONS SECTION OF THE REPRESENTATION STUDY AT THE DECEMBER QUADRIPARTITE MEETING, AFTER THOROUGH STUDY BY THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS, AND THAT ONE OF THE AGREED COURSES OF ACTION FOR PRESERVING OUR LEGAL POSITION (PARA 19(C) OF THE REPRESENTATION STUDY) WAS THAT WE SHOULD RECALL, "IF AND WHEN APPROPRIATE, THAT THE STATUS OF BERLIN ALSO APPLIES TO ITS EASTERN SECTOR."

-- PARA E, FIRST SENTENCE: THE "RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION" MEANS DIFFERENT THINGS IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS, BUT I WONDER WHETHER IT IS REALLY APPLICABLE TO THE BERLIN SITUATION. USE OF THE TERM HERE COULD SUPPORT THE SOVIET VIEW OF WEST BERLIN AS AN INDEPENDENT ENTITY, AND WOULD SEEM TO RUN COUNTER TO THE FRG LEGAL POSITION. AS IT IS NOT ESSENTIAL TO RAISE THE ISSUE HERE, I WOULD RECOMMEND DELETION OF THE PHRASE, "IN EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION."

-- PARA E, SECOND SENTENCE: THE MEANING OF THIS SENTENCE MIGHT BE MADE MORE EXPLICIT AND WOULD SUPPORT BOTH OUR POSITION AND THAT OF THE FRG IF WE WERE TO SPELL OUT THE FACT THAT THE GERMAN EFFORTS REFERRED TO ARE IN EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHT OF REPRESENTATION OF THE WSB. THE SENTENCE MIGHT BE EXPANDED AS FOLLOWS:

"IN THIS REGARD, THE THREE POWERS TOOK SPECIAL
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NOTE OF EFFORTS BY THE FRG, IN EXERCISE OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES FOR REPRESENTING THE INTERESTS OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN ABROAD, TO ENSURE THAT THOSE SECTORS ARE ABLE TO PROFIT..."

-- PARA F, LAST SENTENCE: PERHAPS A SUBSTITUTE SHOULD BE SOUGHT FOR "ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT." WEST BERLIN IS NOT UNDER-DEVELOPED, AND ASIDE FROM THAT I WOULD ANTICIPATE BRITISH OBJECTIONS TO THE TERM SINCE IN AGREEING TO ENTER INTO THE VIABILITY STUDY THE BRITISH MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY DID NOT EXPECT TO DEVOTE ANY BRITISH RESOURCES TO IMPLEMENTING ANY RECOMMENDATIONS THAT MIGHT COME OUT OF THE STUDY. SENATOR STOBBE HAS SUGGESTED, WITH REGARD TO THE

ONGOING STUDY, THAT "VITALITY" WOULD BE A BETTER TERM
THAN "VIABILITY". THAT WORD DOES HAVE A LESS GLOOMY
RING TO IT, AND THE FINAL SENTENCE MIGHT REFER TO
"...WAYS IN WHICH THE THREE POWERS COULD CONTRIBUTE
TO THE VITALITY OF THE WESTERN SECTORS."
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